1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 512 788

lamp in the morning unless it is dark, nor does he pray. The milk poured into the *patat* overnight will have coagulated, so that it forms a solid mass called *adrpars*. The dairyman puts the churning-stick into the *patat* and churns for a little time till he has broken up the *adrpars*.[1] Then he pours off most of the semi-fluid milk into another vessel (also a *patat*), leaving about one *kudi*[2] in the churning-vessel. He adds to this some butter from a previous churning, which he takes from the *parskadrvenmu*, adds also some water, and churns the mixture till butter is formed. He pours out the buttermilk into the *majpariv*, keeping the butter in the *patat*, adds more coagulated milk and water, and churns again, transferring the buttermilk to its vessel when butter is formed. He continues in this way till all the milk has been churned, and he then transfers the butter which has been formed to the vessel called *penpariv*, also putting a small portion in the *parskadrvenmu*.

The *palikartmokh* then goes out to milk, with the *irkarthpun* and the wand called *parskurs* or *ularwurthkurs*. He puts into the milking-vessel some buttermilk, the buttermilk used for this purpose being called *pep*, and he also smears some butter on the edge of the vessel to put on the teats of the buffaloes. When he goes out, he salutes by raising the *irkarthpun* and *parskurs* to his forehead in the same manner as is shown in Fig. 27. When he has filled the milking-vessel, he goes into the dairy and empties the milk into the *patat* and returns to the buffaloes. This is repeated till all the buffaloes have been milked, after which the dairyman takes food and buttermilk, but with no prescribed ritual as in the case of more sacred dairies. He also gives out buttermilk to the people of the village. After the work of the morning is over, the *palikartmokh* may go out to look after the buffaloes, or may collect firewood, leaves, or other things necessary for his work. During the later hours of the morning the *palikartmokh* may often be seen lying down taking a rest before he begins the work of the afternoon, which is more ceremonial than that of the morning.

[461]

[1] This is literally 'cooked milk.' It probably receives this name because the coagulation is often hastened by heating.

[2] About four pints.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 goes to sleep, often saying *Swami* as he lies down for the
512 night.
554 The *tarvali* of the Melgars people is in some ways
778 regarded as superior to the other *tarvali* of the Tartharol.
788 The Melgars *tarvalikartmokh* may not go to the *tarvali* of another Tarthar clan, though the *tarvalikartmokh* of another clan may go to a Melgars *tarvali*. This was said to be due to the higher degree of sanctity of the Melgars dairy and office, but there do not appear to be any differences of ritual corresponding to this different degree of sanctity.

THE KUDRPALI

234 The special feature of the *kudrpali* is that it contains one
778 or more of the bells called *mani*. This involves several
788 additions to the ceremonial of the dairy, and these are accompanied by more stringent rules of conduct for the dairyman.

234 Whenever engaged in his work, the *kudrpalikartmokh* must be
292 naked except for the *kuvn*. In the cold Nilgiri mornings it must
461 often be a very unpleasant task to have to milk the buffaloes
463 with no covering, and I was told that at some places, and especially at Nòdrs, the people gave up the maintenance of a *kudrpali* on account of the difficulty experienced in obtaining men to undertake the office of dairyman.

234 When the *kudrpalikartmokh* is taking his meals, he must
264 hold his food in his hands till he has finished. He is not
778 allowed to put it down on the ground, as may be done by
788 the dairyman of the *tarvali*.

Soon after beginning to churn, the *kudrpalikartmokh* takes up some of the broken-up curd (*adrpars*) and puts it on the bell (*mani*) three times, saying "*Oñ*" each time, and milk from the vessel first brought into the dairy is also put on the bell in the same manner.

234 At the *kudrpali* of Kars, the dairyman puts the curd and
778 milk on a board called *pato*. The bells of this dairy have
788 been lost, and the dairyman puts the milk on the board on which the bells used to hang. The process of putting milk on the bells is properly called *terzantirikiti*, but the Todas

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

distinctly higher order than that they now possess, and if I am right in supposing that the Todas came from Malabar, it might follow that they brought their highly developed religion with them, and that although certain features of the religion may have undergone great development, the general result of the long isolation has been to produce degeneration. The study of the religion suggests that we have in the Todas an example of a people who show us the remnants of a higher culture.

If we could accept the view that the cairns, barrows, and cromlechs of the Nilgiri Hills were the work of the ancestors of the Todas, we should have at once abundant further evidence that the Todas have degenerated from a higher culture. We should have an example of a people who once used, even if they did not make, pottery, showing artistic aptitudes of a fairly high order which they have now entirely lost. The Toda now procures his pottery from another race, and, so long as this is of the kind prescribed by custom, he is wholly indifferent to its æsthetic aspect. I doubt if there exists anywhere in the world a people so devoid of æsthetic arts, and if the Nilgiri monuments are the work of their ancestors, the movement backwards in this department of life must have been very great.

It is easy to see how the Todas may have lost such arts, supposing that they once possessed them. The Toda now regards nearly every kind of manual labour as beneath his dignity, and if a people showing artistic skill in the adornment of the articles they use in everyday life should hand over the making of these articles to another race, it is fairly certain that the artistic side would suffer, and this is especially likely to happen when the artisans whose services are employed are such people as the Kotas.[1] Assuming that such a transference took place, it is easy to understand the complete disappearance of art even higher than that which the contents of the monuments show.

The use of the bow and arrow and the club in ceremonial

[1] The argument will hold equally well if the Todas in their previous home had been accustomed to procure their pottery from others, but had when they reached the Nilgiris to rely solely on the Kotas for help in this direction.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

621 234 others. Each householder in the mand has his own cattle, which he can dispose of absolutely, and their milk is kept for his use; but the whole mand herd graze together, tended generally by the village *pōjāri* (priest), who milks them morning and evening in the monsoon months, and morning only at other times. The milk of all is kept in one dairy-house, which none may enter but the *pōjāri*.

421 428 592 Each family has a recognised head, in whose name the Government grazing *patta** is made out. On the death of the head the eldest son generally succeeds. One old Toda, however, when I asked him which of his sons would take his place, replied, "the wisest." (Compare *Menu*, Chap. IX., Sec. 117:—"Let the eldest have a double "share, and the next born a share and a half, *if they clearly surpass the rest in virtue "and learning*." Sir W. Jones' translation of the *Institutes* shows that the saving clause of the above section is one of the numerous interpolations by which commentators have attempted to harmonise *Menu's* precepts with modern practice. It is curious to find the same qualification acknowledged by the Todas). The father's property is equally divided among all his sons, but the house goes to the youngest, upon whom falls the duty of supporting the females of the household.

181 177 651 461 The Todas are a purely pastoral people. They have large herds of buffaloes, and depend for support on their produce, with the addition of the *gūdu*,† which they levy in kind from Badagas and Kotas. Labour of any kind they hardly ever attempt; indeed so entirely incomprehensible is the notion to them, that when, on one occasion, an unlucky mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the other convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to harsh measures, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer.

313 Of late years one or two have taken contracts to fell wood,‡ but the result has not been satisfactory to the employers.

531 294 262 The women do a coarse kind of embroidery with blue and red thread procured from the low country, for ornament to some of their cloths. They use the Nilagiri nettle for stitching their cloths, and English needles; formerly their needles were made by the Kotas. They also cook and fetch water, the men fetch firewood. Whether they live entirely on grain and milk seems doubtful. They admit that they at one time used to eat their male buffalo calves, but deny vehemently that they do so now, having apparently imbibed from their Hindu neighbours an idea that the practice is disgraceful. It is suspicious, however, that the skins of buffalo calves are found in their

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* *Putta*, commonly spelt *puttah* or *pottah*, is a document given by the Collector or Chief Revenue Officer of a district, however styled, to a landholder or other person having rights connected with the land, specifying the conditions on which the land is held, or the nature of the rights.

† *Gūdu*.—Name known among the Hill tribes for the annual gift of grain made by the cultivators to the Todas; said formerly to represent about $\frac{1}{10}$ or an $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ of the gross produce. *Gūdu*, Canarese for *basket, nest*. The Badagas, after threshing in their fields, bring the grain to the *Kēri* (terrace in front of their houses), and measure it off by baskets before they store it in the granary beneath the *Kēri*. One basket or *Gūdu* out of so many is set apart for the Todas.

‡ See letter to Government appended to Preface. It was said that some Todas worked on plantations, but on further inquiry this was found to be a mistake.—*Editor*.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

others who had been employed, not with conspicuous success, on planters' estates. The Todas consider it beneath their dignity to cultivate land. A former Collector of the Nīlgiris granted them some acres of land for the cultivation of potatoes, but they leased the land to the Badagas, and the privilege was cancelled. In connection with the Todas' objection to work, it is recorded that when, on one occasion, a mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to hard remedies, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer. The daily life of a Toda woman has been summed up as lounging about the mad or mand (Toda settlement), buttering and curling her hair, and cooking. The women have been described as free from the ungracious and menial-like timidity of the generality of the sex in the plains. When Europeans (who are greeted as swāmi or god) come to a mand, the women crawl out of their huts, and chant a monotonous song, all the time clamouring for tips (inām). Even the children are so trained that they clamour for money till it is forthcoming. As a rule, the Todas have no objection to Europeans entering into their huts, but on more than one occasion I have been politely asked to take my boots off before crawling in on the stomach, so as not to desecrate the dwelling-place. Writing in 1868, Dr. J. Shortt makes a sweeping statement that "most of the women have been debauched by Europeans, who, it is sad to observe, have introduced diseases to which these innocent tribes were once strangers, and which are slowly but no less surely sapping their once hardy and vigorous constitutions. The effects of intemperance and disease (syphilis) combined are becoming more and more